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ABSTRACT

Forty-four Hawaiian native English-speaking ninth graders were asked to assign bipolar ratings for qualities of friendliness to the recitation of a text recorded by the same person in English, French, and Ilokano. The matched guise technique of Lambert was used. Results indicate that the subjects held a negative stereotyped view of Ilokano speakers, and that this stereotype tended to be more pronounced in students with home or school second language learning experience and in students who spoke only English in the home. The cultural background and pedagogical motivation for the study are extensively discussed, and the forms used in conducting the study are appended along with a bibliography. (JB)

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M.A. Thesis

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
READING ROOM
Department of English as a Second Language

EVALUATIONAL REACTIONS TO SPOKEN ILOKANO AND THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO YEARS OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HAWAII IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

IN ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGE

DECEMBER 1976

By

Mary Barbara Clemens

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ABSTRACT

This study tests the hypothesis that public school students in Hawaii have a negative stereotype of Ilokano speakers, and that those who have studied foreign languages in school will have fewer of these stereotypes. The study uses Lambert's matched guise technique, in which students evaluated six voice segments on a five-point bipolar rating scale. The languages they evaluated were Yapese, Ilokano, Persian, English, Pashtu and French. Analysis of the data revealed that 1)there does seem to be a negative stereotype of Ilokano speakers; 2)there seems to be a relationship between the amount of stereotyping and the length of time one has studied languages at school; namely, those students with the largest amount of school and home language study tended to have the most negative stereotypes of Ilokano speakers. When the subjects' scores were divided by ethnicity, the "Local General" group also displayed a negative stereotype of Ilokano speakers.

The results run directly counter to both popular ideas and scholarly findings that foreign language training in school helps to overcome ethnic bias.

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I. A. THE HYPOTHESIS

The purpose of this study was to test the following three-part hypothesis: 1)Public school students in Hawaii hold stereotyped views of Ilokano speakers; 2)The stereotype of Ilokano speakers is a negative one; and 3)The more that students have studied foreign languages in school, the fewer stereotypes they will have of Ilokano speakers.

This study was motivated by a statement by W.E. Lambert, R.C. Gardner, R. Olton and K. Tunstall (1962: 36) that "ethnic intolerance may be overcome by training in foreign languages." This statement was a result of a study performed in bicultural communities in Maine, Connecticut and Louisiana. But can this statement be applied to a multi-cultural community like Hawaii? This is an intriguing and potentially important question because 1)if the hypothesis is proven, this would serve as evidence that Hawaii educators can accept an hypothesis which is supported by a mainland study, and 2)if the hypothesis is not proven, then this could be evidence that the cultural and ethnic composition of Hawaii's population is so different from that of the mainland that further studies of this kind are warranted in Hawaii.

A further purpose of this study is to aid in the search

for sources of and solutions for tensions between cultural and ethnic groups in Hawaii. If those students who have stereotypes of Ilokano speakers are the same students who have not studied foreign languages, then perhaps this would be one reason for an increased emphasis on foreign language study in Hawaii's public schools.

In this study, the subjects evaluated six taped language segments on a five-point bipolar rating scale. Three of the language segments, English, French and Ilokano, were actually spoken by the same speaker, using the different languages as "guises." To make this fact less obvious to the subjects, there were three other speakers, speaking three other languages (Pashtu, a language spoken in Afghanistan, Dari, the language of Iran, and Yapese, a language of Micronesia) placed in alternating order with the "target" languages. It was expected that

1)the subjects, ninth grade Hawaii public school students, would evaluate the English, French and Ilokano guises differently, even though the guises were actually the same speaker;

2)they would hold the strongest stereotype of the French, a "high prestige" language,[1] by rating it close to "5" on a 1-to-5 negative-positive rating scale, and of

Ilokano, a "low prestige" language, by rating it closer to "1" on the scale. It was expected that they would have the least stereotype of the English guise by rating it close to a neutral rating of "3" on the scale;

3)those subjects who evaluated the guises the farthest away from a neutral rating of "3" in either a positive or a negative direction, would be those who had studied foreign languages the least.

An examination was also made of ethnicity, sex, and home language experience, to find out if these factors were at all responsible for the expected differential ratings.

I. B. THE DECREASE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGE STUDY

The study of foreign languages in the United States has declined substantially over the last ten years, much to the consternation of language educators. Many colleges have dropped their language requirements, and this has led many high school students to bypass foreign language study. In the words of one educator,

> /L/et us not forget for one moment the effect which changes in college curricula have upon high school curricula, and, more importantly, the effect of a change or dropping of requirements, The word 'requirement' if not actually dirty, is at least unclean, since requirements run counter to our current view of permissiveness. (Hollerback, 1974:97)

Many educators feel that we should reconsider the position of foreign language requirements in our schools. It is hoped that this study will add depth to our understanding of the effect (or lack of effect) of foreign language study on intra-cultural attitudes.

II. A. DEFINITION OF TERMS

Harding et al. (1954) define attitude as "a tendency or cluster of tendencies to react in various specific ways to another individual or to a group of individuals." (1954:1025) Their use of the word "react" rather than "act" is appropriate because the mere existence of an attitude does not necessarily mean that the person with that attitude will perform any action as a result.

The authors classify these reaction tendencies as either cognitive (involving beliefs), affective (involving feelings) and conative (involving the conscious desire to act, presemably as a result of either the cognitive or affective attitude components). Negative and positive stereotypes are classified as part of the cognitive (belief) component. However, it seems likely that stereotypes (or "the tendency to attribute generalized and simplified characteristics to groups of people in the form of verbal labels" (Vinacke, 1949:265)) have a large basis in the affective component, or feelings. Finney, too, regards judgements as resulting from both "perception of fact" and "desireability judgement." If a student indicates that a given ethnic or cultural group is "very friendly," this judgement may be based on belief, but would likely be based on feelings as well, particularly if he has had personal contact with members of that group. Harding et al. allow for this interpretation later in their article in saying that

> the relationship between the various attitudinal components is so close that it does not make much difference whether we use cognitive, affective or conative tendencies to rate individuals with respect to their attitudes toward any specific ethnic group. (1954:1024)

Language attitudes, then, involve one's beliefs and feelings toward a language.

How can one's feelings and beliefs toward a given language be elicited? One way is to obtain a person's evaluational[2] reactions toward an actual sample of that language. Evaluational reactions are here presumed to be those reactions (responses to stimuli) which are reflected by a person's judgements of the language sample. Attitudinal reactions, then, are reflected by evaluational reactions, or judgements.

II. B. WHY STUDY LANGUAGE ATTITUDES?
1. THE RELATION OF LANGUAGE ATTITUDES TO STEREOTYPES

It is important to study language attitudes and stereotyping because they may help to define the relationship between ethnic groups, in that they serve to "remind ourselves and others of social and ethnic boundaries." (Williams, 1970:380). The more educators can learn about such conscious or unconscious boundary-maintaining strategies, the more data they have on which to base an educational program which involves people from varied linguistic, ethnic, social and cultural backgrounds.

According to Lambert, spoken language is one of the many features which mark the identity of a given ethnic or cultural group, in that it is common to all members of that group. The same is true of dialects or other language varieties. According to two of Lambert's studies (1960 and 1964), a listener's evaluational reaction to a language itself should reflect his evaluation of, and thus his attitude toward, the group of people who speaks that language. Williams agrees when he says that

> attitudes toward speech are highly tied to attitudes toward people. . . .listeners will provide a range of reliable cultural, social class and personality associations upon hearing speech samples. (1970:380)

Lambert further postulates that the attitudinal reaction to the language sample will reflect the listener's stereotypes of the speakers of that language (1960, 1964).

> Thus when one hears a radio broadcast of an international meeting and encounters passages

> of a foreign language, one's evaluational reactions to the communication are attributable, in part, to the language used and likely to reflect generalized attitudinal reactions to the group that uses it. (1960:44)

Of course, when one hears such a broadcast, it is entirely possible that one's judgement may be partially dependent upon the actual voice of the speaker. In any study of a listener's reaction to a spoken language, this variable must be eliminated so that one can be relatively sure that the listener is responding to the language alone. Lambert's matched guise technique has a control factor which eliminates this variable. (See Section III. D. for a further discussion of this technique.)

If one can be sure, then, that the listener is judging not the individual speaker, but the language itself, then it would be logical to assume that his judgement and therefore attitude is indeed a stereotype of the speakers of that language (if that judgement is not a neutral one). Since it is impossible to tell if a speaker is "friendly" or "dishonest" from voice alone, any judgements in a significantly positive or negative direction most likely represent what the subject regards as simplified characteristics of the group that speaks that language.

II. B. 2. THE RELATION OF STEREOTYPES TO BEHAVIOR

Given that a stereotype is largely an expression of attitudes toward and perceptions of another group, the question remains as to whether or not a person will act toward that group in accordance with that stereotype. In other words, if a given set of subjects has a negative stereotype of "X" group, will they act in a negative manner toward "X" group?

Harding et al. (1954) claim that intergroup behavior is not primarily determined by intergroup attitudes, but by other motives in the individual and his relation to those around him. Lasker (1931) does not confront the issue of behavior, but does believe that negative attitudes toward immigrants lead to suspicions and misinterpretations of observable facts concerning their behavior. If we can assume that suspicions and misinterpretations can affect one's actions toward another group's behavior, then Lasker might be said to agree with Vinacke and Williams, who both take the position that stereotyping definitely does influence behavior.

Vinacke includes behavior in his definition of stereotyping:

> . . . to attribute generalized and simplified characteristics to groups of people in the form of verbal labels and to act toward members of those groups in terms of those labels. (1949:265)

To see behavior as an integral, undifferentiated part of stereotyping seems to put Vinacke in the Behaviorist camp,

as defined by Agheyise and Fishman (1970:138). Vinacke sees the same conditions that apply to "thinking and judging" as applying to acting, and does not differentiate between them, as does Harding.

Williams presents the strongest case for linking stereotypes with behavior. He puts forth a corollary of Lambert's stereotype hypothesis, and holds that stereotypes serve as "storehouses" for the social distinctions that we make between people, both in our attitudes and in our actions. In other words, if we hear a person speaking another language or language variety, Williams posits that we make a very rapid hypothesis regarding the status of that individual. The accuracy of Williams' theory is borne out by Lambert, who found that teachers' evaluations of students' intelligence depended largely on the students' speech style. "The fact that [teachers]. . . made serious systematic judgements about students' abilities based on possibly irrelevant information, such as voice. . . is of great social importance." (Seligman, Tucker and Lambert, 1972:141)

Williams claims that such hypotheses set up expectations regarding the behavior of that individual, and influences the way in which we act toward him. He calls this process the self-fulfilling prophecy (cited earlier by Rosenthal and Jacobson), or

> how one person's expectation for another person's behavior can quite unwittingly become a more accurate prediction simply for its having been made. (Williams, 1970:382)

The self-fulfilling prophecy

> leads us to expect that the stereotypes associated with speech types in situations would in turn become predictions of the types of behaviors and social attitudes in that situation. (1970:384)

Finney corroborates the concept of the self-fulfilling prophecy when he says that

> /p/eople's behavior may conform to what they have learned is expected of their group. The relationship between image and behavior is a circular one. (Finney, 1968:3)

According to this view, then, one's social attitudes are translated into a social reality; that is, if a particular group holds stereotypes of another group, the stereotyped group can be effectively held outside the majority culture. This paper adopts the view of Williams, that stereotypes, while not necessarily signs of ethnic bias, represent a tendency to have and maintain distance between groups of people. Such groups may be ethnic, socio-economic, professional or religious. The more one distances oneself from another language group, the less tolerant one would be of cultural and ethnic differences which might accompany the linguistic differences. The nature of speech (and therefore social) stereotyping and some of their effects has been demonstrated by a variety of research studies (see section II. C.) which re-emphasize the importance of the study of language attitudes. These studies make it difficult to accept Harding et al.'s thesis that intergroup behavior is not dominated by intergroup attitudes.

II. C. PREVIOUS STUDIES IN LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

The majority of the available studies of language attitudes has been the work of Wallace E. Lambert and his associates at McGill University in Montreal. A brief survey of his findings shows a high degree of consistency in the stereotypes which some groups of people hold about speakers of other languages. In an early study (Lambert, Gardner, Hodgson and Fillenbaum, 1960), the authors used the matched guise technique with a group of Canadian subjects. The matched guise technique has been used widely by Lambert to study language attitudes. Briefly, the technique involves playing tape recorded language segments to a group of subjects who then evaluate each segment on a bi-polar rating scale. The subjects are not aware that every other voice is actually the same speaker, using different language "guises." If their evaluations of a speaker's "guises" are different, then this difference must be attributed to their differing evaluations of the languages being spoken, since the voice they are hearing is the same.

The purpose of the 1960 study was "to determine the significance spoken language has for listeners by analyzing their evaluational reactions to spoken English and French." (1960:44) In the matched guise portion, the subjects evaluated French and English guises of the same speaker according to 14 traits on a 6-point bipolar rating scale. The results showed that the English-speaking Canadian subjects rated the English guises significantly more

favorably on 7 of the 14 qualities. However, an unexpected result was that the French-speaking Canadian subjects rated the English guises significantly more favorably on 8 of the 14 qualities. Six of the qualities were the same as those to which the English-speaking subjects responded more favorably. The French-speaking subjects also had less favorable judgements of the French guise than did the English speakers. Lambert attributed this downgrading of their own group to the French-speaking subjects having adopted a community-wide negative stereotype of French speakers in Canada. In a similar study (1964) with 10-year-old children, French was rated more highly than English; however this study differed from the 1960 study in that here, both bilingual and monolingual subjects were used. The bicultural experience of the bilinguals seemed to have an effect on the results; the children did not have a negative stereotype of their own group.

In another study (1963), Lambert found that French-speaking students in Louisiana and Maine had the same stereotypes of French speakers as did English-speaking students. American students in general were found to have negative stereotypes about Franco-Americans and French-speaking people as a group.

In an effort to find out at what age subjects begin to show definite stereotyping tendencies, Lambert (1966), again using his matched guise technique, tested 373 French-speaking girls who attended either public or private

schools. The subjects were considered in four age groupings: 10, 12, 14 and 16. At the age of 10, the public school girls had little bias for or against either the French or English guises; the private school girls strongly favored the English guises, especially at the 15 to 17-year age level. Coupled with this, there was again a marked tendency for this group of French speakers to regard its own group unfavorably. Lambert theorized one possible reason for this was that in the upper middle classes in Montreal, English-speaking Canadians were generally regarded as "models." That such a community-wide social attitude had been adopted by a significant number of French-speaking Canadian girls, to the extent that they actually showed an unfavorable stereotype of their own language group, is evidence that more attention should be given to stereotyping and its psychological effects.

In a study conducted in Israel, Lambert, Anisfeld and Yeni-Komishan (1965) used the matched guise technique to reveal attitudes of 69 Israeli and Arab adolescents. The results indicated that the Israeli and Arab subjects held mutually antagonistic views of each other's group, as evidenced by the negative stereotypes they attributed to each other. A similar study was performed of Jewish and Gentile subjects in Canada (Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert, 1962), using bi-dialectical speakers of standard English and of English with a "Jewish" accent. In all cases, both Jewish and Gentile subjects held a negative stereotype of

accented guises.

In both this study and the 1960 study, Lambert also administered tests of the subjects' attitudes towards the language groups represented by the speakers on the tapes. The 1962 study revealed no relationship between "the differential ratings of the guises and any personal or attitude variables." (Anisfeld, Bogo and Lambert, 1962:229) In the 1960 study, the authors found "a low and insignificant correlation"(1960:51) between the evaluations of the guises and the attitude measures. Lambert et al. use this as evidence that the matched guise technique "taps stereotypes rather than attitudes." (1962:229) But it appears to me that the technique may well elicit both stereotypes and attitudes. It is also possible that the responses to the standard attitude questionnaire are not entirely reliable. (Further discussion of this point may be found in Section III. B. of this study.)

In the above studies, the most obvious general finding was that all of the groups that were tested with the matched guise technique had significantly different evaluations of the same speaker using two different languages. Since the difference between the evaluations cannot be attributed to any difference in voice, they must be attributed to the languages being used. The subjects' ratings may be said to reflect their stereotyped reactions to speakers of each language.

II. D. WHY STUDY LANGUAGE ATTITUDES IN HAWAII?

Since the above research has already been performed with other languages on the mainland United States and elsewhere, one well might ask why it is necessary to study language attitudes in Hawaii. People who live in a society where there is not a large variety of cultural, ethnic or language groups might be expected to have many stereotyped views of other groups. On the other hand, people who live in a society where there is a large variety might be expected to have fewer stereotyped images of other groups. We might be tempted to explain this by pointing to their daily contact with, or at least exposure to, the other groups. Lambert came to this conclusion in his 1964 study, when he found that monolingual French-speaking Canadian children evaluated the French guise of a speaker significantly more favorably than they rated the speaker's English guise. Bilingual children rated the French and English guises "essentially the same." (1967:98) Lambert offers the explanation that

> /t/he bicultural experience of the bilinguals could serve as an enriched social environment and prompt them to mature somewhat sooner in this regard than the monolinguals. (1964:95)

Williams focuses on the experience of the monolinguals:

> the more children are reared in a rigidly defined, monocultural setting the more they will come to differentiate social stereotypes only in an evaluative sense, and to do this relative to the prescriptive stereotypes of their monoculture. Under these circumstances, they will be less and less able to understand that cultural distinctions do legitimately

> exist among people and that to be different is not necessarily to be disfavored. (1970:396)

Like Lambert, Williams believes that the more cultural and ethnic differences a person has been exposed to, the less ethnocentric that person will be. Thus, the two factors the authors view as having a liberalizing effect on social attitudes are learning another language and living in a multicultural environment.

Since all of the existing language attitude studies have been carried out in the mainland United States, Canada and Israel, the question that arises (and the question that this study hopes to shed light upon) is: does Hawaii conform to this pattern? Is Hawaii, with its unique ethnic and cultural composition, comparable to the mainland United States and other countries in this respect?

II. D. 1. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION: HAWAII

People who live in Hawaii are exposed to an array of ethnic and cultural groups. This is largely due to the large number of immigrants who have come to Hawaii.[3] Between 1965 and 1971, the number of immigrants to Hawaii multiplied six-fold. In 1974 and 1975, the number of immigrants in Hawaii was more than four times the national average (per 1,000 population). Immigrants from the Philippines now comprise over half the immigrant population in Hawaii: in 1975, 50.3% of all aliens living in Hawaii were from the Philippines, (State of Hawaii, 1975:6) and 44.6% of all newly-arrived immigrants were from the Philippines. (Cahill, 1975:4)

This immigration trend is also reflected in the school population; in 1947, 10.1% of all Hawaii public school enrollment was Filipino. (Horman and Lawrence, 1959:408) By 1975, 35% of newly arrived students were from the Philippines. (Cahill, 1975:4)

Most Filipino immigrants in Hawaii have had some experience with the English language in the Philippines, where English is the medium of instruction in the public schools. (State of Hawaii, 1975:40) In spite of this fact,

> there are indications that many immigrants have problems with the English language. Immigrants such as the Ilocanos who originate from provinces remote from metropolitan areas and those with a limited number of years of schooling experience difficulty with English upon arrival. Others who have a substantial command of the written language may have trouble with the spoken language because of their accent. (State of Hawaii, 1975:40)

(David and King, 1972, also discuss English proficiency among recently-arrived Filipinos in Hawaii.) Proficiency in English, then, must be considered as one of the contributing factors to the problems immigrants from the Philippines have in adjusting to school in Hawaii.

II. D 2. ATTITUDES TOWARD FILIPINO IMMIGRANTS

The information which exists about the attitudes of local students toward Filipino immigrants provides a background on which to base expectations about the attitude portion of this study. The bulk of the data and observations are in agreement that local students in Hawaii (i.e. those who have grown up in Hawaii and have attended public schools in Hawaii) have some generally negative views of Filipino immigrants.

In 1949, Vinacke studied stereotypes of Filipinos in Hawaii. This study was replicated by Finney in 1962. In a sample of 375 students, Vinacke found that

> /t/he Filipino stereotype is definite and strong. They are regarded as flashy and hot-tempered. Other terms frequently assigned are good followers, musical, tempermental, ignorant, emotional (passionate), spendthrift, sexy, unpredictable, sensitive, lower class and show-off. (These /qualities/ were largely rated negative /by the same subjects/. Filipinos themselves agreed with many of these items, but also assigned themselves with favorable traits, i.e. religious, sociable, friendly, industrious and ambitious. (1949:275)

Finney's 1968 study showed that these phrases still characterized the students' image of the groups examined.

There have also been more recent studies which, although they are based on interviews rather than on statistical analysis, further define the relationship between Hawaii public school students and Filipino immigrants.[4] All of them speak of difficulties between the two groups, and some speculate on the reasons for these

difficulties. There are cultural and behavioral differences; in addition, many of the recently-arrived Filipino students speak their native Ilokano among themselves at school, and this brings criticism from the local students. Some of the immigrant students are intimidated and victimized, and fights sometimes result at schools where there is a sizable immigrant population.

This information justifies the expectation that the subjects in the present study will have a negative stereotype of the Ilokano guise. If they do react in a significantly negative direction, then it is likely that the matched guise technique is indeed a viable instrument for measuring attitudes. Such attitudes elicited by only the spoken language would then be representative of the subjects' stereotypes of speakers of Ilokano with whom they come in contact, namely the Filipino immigrants.

III. A. SUBJECTS

For the purposes of this study, it was necessary to have subjects who met the following criteria: they should 1)be native speakers of English; 2)have lived in Hawaii for all or most of their lives; and 3)have attended a public school in Hawaii where there is an immigrant population.

Criteria 1 and 2 were chosen so that the subjects would have an equal amount of exposure to English. (Whether they were native speakers of standard English or Hawaii Creole English was a distinction not made in this study.) Criterion3 was chosen on the assumption that if the subjects attended school and lived in a neighborhood where there was an immigrant population, then the subjects' reactions to the Ilokano guise would be based more on feelings resulting from direct interaction with Ilokano speakers, rather than on hearsay or on images gleaned from the media, parents, etc. In fact, opportunities to perform this study in two private schools were rejected on this bases, since there are virtually no immigrant students from the Philippines in either of the two schools.

The subjects who were eventually selected were ninth-grade students at a school in an area that is "heavily populated with Filipino immigrant families." (State of Hawaii, 1975:47) A further requirement was that in order to avoid bias, the subjects would be taken from required (not elective) courses. For example, if the students used as subjects had been taken from an elective language course,

they might already have a predisposition to regard other language groups with more realistic or less stereotyped views. Thus, the students used in this study were tested as groups in required English classes. For reasons of expediency, it was decided to use the top three ability groupings in order to obtain the highest possible proportion of native speakers of English while administering the questionnaire the fewest possible number of times, since access to classes was limited.

There was a total of 59 subjects: 13 males, 30 females and 16 for whom this data was not obtained, due to an oversight resulting from time limitations.

There were 44 native speakers of English and 15 non-native speakers. The non-native speakers, however, were not included in the statistics relating to the hypothesis. Of the native speakers, forty had lived in Hawaii all of their lives. The four who were not born in Hawaii were classified on "ethnicity" according to the birthplaces of their parents. Information on how long the four had lived in Hawaii was not available, but based on the fact that they had lived here any length of time at all; they were classefied as "Local." Thus two of the non-locally born native speakers were classified as "Local Japanese" and two as "Local Filipino."

To classify the rest of the subject according to ethnic background, two criteria were used: birthplace of parents, and (in cases where the parents were born in Hawaii) the

language spoken in the home. So if a subject and one or both of his parents were born in Hawaii, but Ilokano was spoken in the home, the subject was classified as "Local Filipino." If no language other than English was spoken in the home, the subject was classified as "Local General." If no foreign language was spoken in the home and both parents were born in Japan, the subject was classified as "Local Japanese." The number of subjects in each ethnic grouping is shown in Table 1:

TABLE 1

ETHNIC GROUP	NUMBER
Local Filipino	14
Local Japanese	13
Local General	17
TOTAL SUBJECTS:	44

III. B. THE MATCHED GUISE TECHNIQUE VS. OTHER ATTITUDE MEASURES

The matched guise technique is a valuable way of measuring attitude because the subjects are not aware of what is being measured. In a questionnaire-type of attitude study, where subjects might be asked to rate ethnic groups *per se*, the reactions obtained may not be spontaneous, since the subjects would be made conscious of their ethnic biases. In such a situation they might well allow their mental "censors" to block out feelings and beliefs which are not socially acceptable.

> /T/he matched guise technique, in contrast to standard measures of attitudes, evokes more private emotional and conceptual reactions

although there is no empirical basis for this hypothesis. (Lambert et al., 1965 and Lambert, 1967)

It appears that the technique is a measure of

> group bias in evaluative reactions; it has very good releability in the sense that essentially the same profile of traits for a particular group appear when different samples of judges, drawn from a particular subpopulation are used. On the other hand, the technique apparently has little reliability when measured by test-retest ratings produced by the same group of judges. (Lambert, 1967:94)

Lambert believes, however, that the main statistical calculation that he used may be responsible for this.

Another significant problem with questionnaires is that the subjects must have

> at lease a minimum ability to read and follow directions. . . . The dangers of misinterpretation of items and falsification of responses are probably greater with questionnaires than

> with other diagnostic techniques. (Deri et al., 1948:264)

The matched guise technique as used in the present study did not require a great deal of reading ability on the part of the subjects. The entire questionnaire was read aloud, and the procedures described orally. The only part that the subjects had to read was the list of seven qualities. The "information" section at the end of the test was also read orally by the experimenter.

III. C. MATERIALS
1. SPEECH SAMPLES

The language samples that were tape recorded and played for the subjects were translations of the same passage. The passage (Appendix A) was written by the experimenter and was intended to be as low as possible in cultural and emotional content. It was felt that a more "emotionally-charged" passage, such as a mystery story, might be more interesting, but might also distract the subjects into evaluating the acting ability of the speakers, and not the language itself. In writing this short narrative, every effort was made to alternate short sentences with longer ones to make the rhythm as varied as possible. The English version of the passage is 238 words long and is about 40 seconds in duration when read aloud.

The actual "target" language, which the experimenter was most interested in the subjects' reaction to, was Ilokano. The "control" languages were English and French. The translation into Ilokano was done by a native speaker of Ilokano, who emphasized that the translation was not a word-for-word translation, because certain phrases in English would be stated differently in Ilokano. Thus, certain phrases had to be changed around for the passage to sound natural in Ilokano. This seemed to be true for all of the translations. The translators were told they were free to make any changes of this type that they deemed necessary.

The translation of the passage into French was performed by a native speaker of English who is a graduate assistant in the French Department at the University of Hawaii. The translations into Yapese, Persian and Pashtu were done by native speakers of those languages, they are also graduate students at the University.

The taping of the Persian, Pashtu and Yapese translations was done by the native speakers who had translated them. The tape recordings were made on an Akai Portable Cross-Field X-IV tape recorder with a Sony C-38B Studio microphone. All of the recordings were made under the same recording conditions in the same room. Several "takes" were made of each speaker in order to get a recording which was as close to error-free as possible. An edited version of the selected takes was made on an Ampex PR-10 studio model tape recorder.

One of the most challenging tasks in this project was to find a person who was trilingual in English, French and Ilokano to record these three language segments. It was necessary that the person be a native speaker of English so that the English version would be unaccented. The person who was selected had a substantial knowledge of French, and his accent was judged to be "very good" by a native speaker of Parisian French. He had taken courses in Ilokano at the university level. In order to perfect his Ilokano pronunciation, he used a cassette tape recording of a native speaker of Ilokano reading the passage as a guide to stress

and intonation patterns. After practicing with the tape of the native speaker, the trilingual then made the actual tape recording that was used.

All of the speakers for the tape recording were male. The possibility of using all female voices was considered, but it was felt that the male students, and possibly the female students, might be biased against a female speaker, since much of American culture and its media has conditioned us to expect males as exemplars or in positions of authority (announcers, newscasters, college professors). While this is an unfortunate fact and seems to be undergoing changes now, this experiment did not seem to be an appropriate place to contribute to changing these stereotypes.

III. C. 2. SEQUENCE OF THE LANGUAGE SEGMENTS

The purpose of having the Pashtu, Persian and Yapese[5] translations was to camouflage the fact that the English, French and Ilokano segments were actually read by the same speaker. So it was necessary to alternate the first three with the last three, and to have one non-target language played first for practice. Given these constraints on the order of the voice segments, the English, French and Ilokano were selected at random; then the same was done for the three "camouflage" voice segments. The final order was as follows:

1. Yapese
2. Ilokano
3. Persian
4. English
5. Pashtu
6. French

III. C. 3. BIPOLAR RATING SCALE

The matched guise studies of Lambert utilized a variety of qualities for the bipolar rating scales. In some cases they were elicited from the subjects as in his 1969 study of American subjects' reactions to various White and Negro dialects. The subjects "were asked to indicate those traits which they considered important for friendship, and those important for success." (Tucker and Lambert, 1969:464) The traits were ranked by popularity. The subjects were then asked to give free associations to and synonyms for some of the trait names. The next step was to have the subjects choose from a larger list of traits drawn from previous research using the same technique, those they considered important for friendship and success. The bipolar rating scale was then constructed.

The procedure for quality selection in the present study was similar to that used by Lambert. However, the only qualities that were sought were those the subjects considered to be important for friendship. It was felt that this would be the best way of getting at the subjects' affective responses to, as well as objective judgements of, the voice segments. Other qualities such as "intelligent," "ambitious," "stable," and "leaderlike" were considered, but evaluations based on these qualities would be of a different, more objective kind, and would entail more extensive statistical calculations which would be beyond the

opposites of the negative qualities.

These lists of qualities were tallied and combined. I distilled from these responses a list of 26 qualities which seemed to encompass most of the qualities mentioned by the students. This list may be found in Appendix B.

The second step of the quality selection procedure was to have students who were actually used in the evaluation task indicate the seven qualities from the list which they considered the most important for friendship, and then number them in importance. They were also given spaces at the end of the list where they were given the opportunity to add any qualities they thought were important which were not on the list. Their responses were tallied and the seven most popular qualities were selected. These qualities were: honest, considerate, trustworthy, responsible, understanding, friendly and helpful. The number of "votes" given to each quality may also be found in Appendix B.

The bipolar rating scale was then constructed, using the seven qualities, their opposites, and a five-point rating scale between them. The qualities were arranged in random order. The rating sheet in its final form is shown in Appendix D.

III. C. 4. BACKGROUND INFORMATION SHEET

The background information sheet (Appendix E) was constructed to be clear and direct, and to have as little room for error as possible. For the first two questions, the subjects were to write in "yes" or "no" to eliminate the possibility of error which would be present if they were, say, checking boxes. Questions 3, 4 and 5 were designed to obtain the ethnicity of the subjects. Questions 6 and 7 sought information of the subjects' foreign language background. Foreign language study at school and foreign language experience at home were separated because of the large number of people in Hawaii who are native speakers of English and who are brought up speaking or at least hearing a second language. For the home language experience it was also decided to differentiate between those who speak, understand or who only hear another language in the home. This proved to be a fortunate distinction to make because there were many students who did not actually speak another language in the home, but who were exposed to it on a daily basis. It seemed reasonable to test the possibility that simple exposure to another language might be associated with a decrease in stereotyping as much as language study in school might.

The question to determine the sex of the subjects was inadvertently omitted from the final typed copy. Most subjects were asked orally at the time of the experiment to provide this information.

III. D. THE MATCHED GUISE TECHNIQUE: PROCEDURE

The matched guise technique as developed by Lambert involves playing a series of tape recorded voices to a group of subjects. The subjects are told that they will hear a number of different voice segments in order to find out how much they can tell about the speakers' personalities from hearing only their voices. They are told that to make the task more interesting and difficult, the voice segments will be in different languages. The tapes are played, and after hearing each voice, the subjects then rate the voices on the bepolar rating scale. The "catch," which is not mentioned to the subjects, is that certain voice segments are actually bilingual or trilingual speakers using different languages as "guises." The different speakers are alternated to make this fact less obvious to the subjects. The readings are referred to by the experimenter merely as "voice segments."

The subjects' ratings of each voice are calculated to ascertain the degree and direction of stereotype or bias toward each voice.

IV. A. RESULTS: GENERAL

The first part of the hypothesis being tested in this study is that students hold stereotyped views of speakers of other languages. This would be proven true if their ratings of the English, French and Ilokano guises on the one-to-five rating scale differed significantly from a neutral rating of "3".

The results as shown in Table 2 indicate that the students have a positive stereotype of English and French speakers, but no stereotype, either positive or negative, of Ilokano speakers. The mean score for the English was 4.06 and the French 3.98. These both differ significantly from a neutral rating of "3" as determined by t-tests[6] ($p < .01$, d.f. 43).

TABLE 2

NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS' MEAN RATINGS OF LANGUAGES

QUALITY	YAPESE	ILOKANO	PERSIAN	ENGLISH	PASHTU	FRENCH
considerate	3.46	3.27	3.96	4.10	2.91	4.08
friendly	3.62	3.14	3.84	3.93	2.94	4.15
trustworthy	3.47	3.13	3.59	4.00	3.07	3.83
honest	3.65	3.35	3.73	4.14	3.00	3.97
helpful	3.35	3.00	3.78	4.05	2.83	4.02
understanding	3.57	3.30	3.74	4.07	2.96	3.91
responsible	3.70	3.35	3.77	4.13	3.05	3.87
LANGUAGE MEAN:	3.55	3.22	3.77	4.06	2.97	3.98

The mean rating of the Ilokano guise was 3.22, which does not differ significantly from a neutral rating of "3".

These figures would seem to indicate that only the hypothesis that there would be a positive stereotype of

French speakers can be supported. The hypotheses that there would be a negative stereotype of Ilokano speakers and a neutral rating (or no stereotype) of English speakers were not supported.

However, these results are posed on the assumption that a rating of "3" is a neutral one, indicating neither positive nor negative, and that any rating that differs significantly from "3" in either direction indicates a stereotype of speakers of that language. If this assumption is re-examined, however, a different picture of the data emerges.

It appears that the subjects did not interpret "3" as a neutral rating. Figure 1 shows the frequencies of each number in the rating scale for each voice segment. This table indicates that the subjects were not as willing to use the negative "1" rating as they were to use the positive "5" rating. As a result, all of the responses were skewed toward the upper end of the rating scale. As Table 3 below

TABLE 3

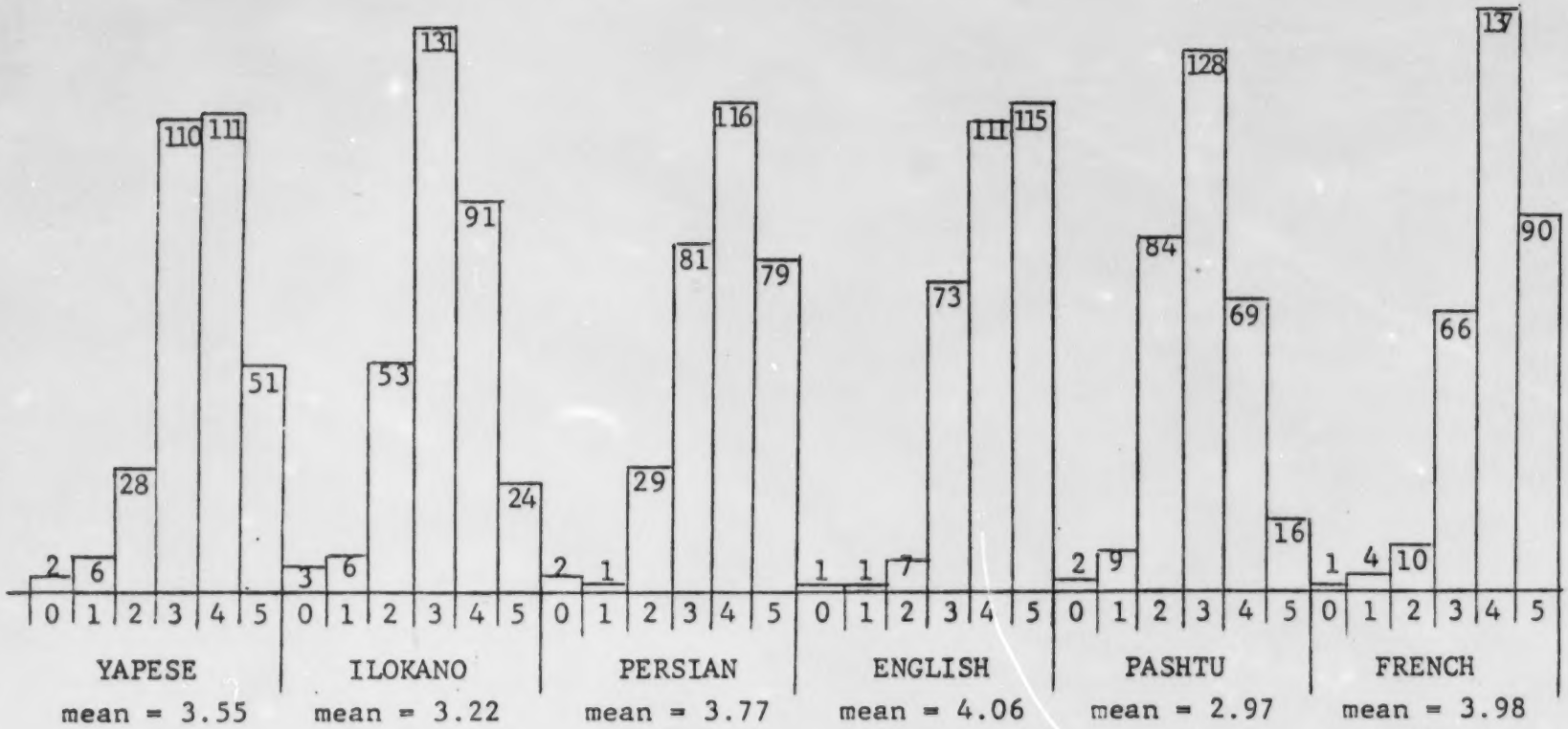
TOTAL FREQUENCIES OF SCORES

SCORE	FREQUENCY
0 (=no response)	11
1	27
2	211
3	589
4	635
5	375
TOTAL RESPONSES	1,848

shows, out of a total of 1,848 items (42 rating items per questionnaire times 44 subjects), there were only 27

FIGURE 1

FREQUENCY OF SCORES PER LANGUAGE



responses using the rating "1", or only 1.5% of all the responses combined. However, there were 376 responses of "5", or 20.5% of all the responses combined. Furthermore, the overall mean rating for all six languages was 3.59, and the mean rating for the "target" languages (English, French and Ilokano) combined was 3.75. Thus it could be construed that a rating of "3" is actually a negative, rather than a neutral rating.

This interpretation is further supported by considering the evaluation of the Pashtu speaker. His reading of the passage was very rapid and had little variation of intonation. The subjects' mean rating of the Pashtu was 2.94, the lowest of any of the voices. The subjects only used the rating "1" nine times in their evaluations, and "5" was used only 16 times. The most frequent score was "3". But the subjective evaluation of emotional reactions in the classroom when this voice segment was played indicated that their ratings actually represented a negative evaluation. (For example, the students laughed and made faces at each other.)

An additional factor in support of this interpretation is that the rating sheets had a "left=negative" and "right=positive" orientation, and was not reversed, as perhaps it should have been, for half of the qualities. The students may have become "right-oriented" during the rating time. Their interpretation of a midpoint could easily have shifted from "3" to "4".

In light of this interpretation, what originally appeared to be a neutral rating of the Ilokano guise can actually be considered negative, when measured against the actual mean of 3.75 for the Ilokano, English and French language segments. Thus, the hypothesis that the students would rate the Ilokano guise negatively is supported. A two-tailed t-test[7] showed that the mean rating for the Ilokano guise (3.22) was significantly lower than the mean rating of the Ilokano, English and French guises combined (3.75), $t=4.39$, $p<.01$, d.f. 1/174. The hypothesis that they would rate the French guise positively is not supported; the t-test here indicated that the 3.98 rating of the French guise did not differ significantly from the 3.75 combined mean ($t=1.74$, $p<.10$, d.f. 1/174). The prediction that the English guise would reflect neither a positive nor a negative stereotype of English speakers is not supported; instead, a positive stereotype is evident. The mean for English (4.08) was found to differ significantly from the combined mean of 3.75 ($t=2.63$, $p<.01$, d.f. 1/174).

The third part of the hypothesis being tested is that those students who have studied foreign languages at school have less tendency to stereotype Ilokano speakers than do those who have not studied foreign languages. To measure this, the scores for those students with 0, 0-1 and 1-2 years foreign language experience were each compared to the overall mean of 3.75 for the target languages. As shown in Table 4, the scores of those with between one and two years

TABLE 4
RATINGS DIVIDED ACCORDING TO
YEARS OF SCHOOL LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

ILOKANO

	0 YEARS N=18		0-1 YEARS N=5		1-2 YEARS N=19	
	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE
C+	3.72	.13	2.60	2.25	3.00**	3.70
F	3.28	1.62	2.60	1.69	3.11**	3.44
T	3.39	1.96	3.00	2.37	2.95**	6.65
Ho	3.78	1.74	3.00	2.37	3.00**	3.71
He	3.35	1.41	2.83	1.94	2.89**	4.81
U	3.61	.57	2.83	1.63	3.22**	3.07
R	3.33	1.96	3.00	2.53	3.53	1.87

ENGLISH

C	4.17*	2.27	4.00	.79	4.16*	2.34
F	4.06	1.64	4.00	.56	3.84	.51
T	4.00	1.09	3.80	.13	4.10	1.88
Ho	4.11	1.69	4.20	1.20	4.21**	3.19
He	4.06	1.32	4.20	.92	4.05	1.54
U	4.39**	2.96	3.83	.07	4.06	1.64
R	4.06	1.50	4.40*	2.65	4.16	2.97

FRENCH

C	4.06	1.32	4.20	1.20	3.95	1.66
F	4.11	1.70	3.80	.05	4.21**	3.18
T	3.83	.48	3.80	.10	3.74	.08
Ho	4.00	1.26	3.60	.38	3.95	1.03
He	4.22*	2.27	3.20	2.75	3.90	1.15
U	3.83	.25	3.80	.09	4.00	1.17
R	3.72	.12	3.40	.52	4.05*	2.10

*=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .05 confidence level
**=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .01 confidence level

+In this table and in Tables 5, 6, 7 and 8, the abbreviations for the seven qualities are: C = considerate; F = friendly; T = trustworthy; Ho = honest; He = helpful; U = understanding; R = responsible.

school language training was significantly lower than 3.75 ($p<.01$, d.f. 1/18) on all qualities except "responsible." The scores of the students with 0 years or between 0 and 1 year foreign language training did not differ significantly from 3.75.

According to these findings, then, it does not seem to be true that those students with more foreign language training at school have fewer stereotypes of Ilokano speakers. On the contrary, foreign language study seems to be associated with more stereotyping, which in this case is in a negative direction. (For the English and French guises, there was no consistent pattern of stereotyping for any of the three language groupings. See Table 4 and Section IV. B. 4.)

Why should students with foreign language training have a more negative stereotype of Ilokano speakers? It is a widely accepted notion that training in foreign languages has a liberalizing effect on students. One would expect that the scores of those with 1-2 years school language experience would be closer to the neutral rating of 3.75. Why are they lower?

A possible explanation is that the majority of students who studied languages at school studied either Japanese, Spanish or French. It is possible that they developed a preference for speakers of those languages as opposed to speakers of Ilokano. Another possible explanation is that ten of the 18 who had no school language experience were

Local Filipino, and perhaps they would tend to rate the Filipino language higher. However, the mean ratings of the Ilokano by these ten subjects in the 0 years language grouping was actually lower (3.36), though not significantly so, than the ratings of the remaining seven, who were from other ethnic groups. While this is an interesting observation in itself and might be fruitful ground for future research, it eliminates the possibility that some kind of group identification is responsible for the lesser amount of stereotyping among those with no foreign language study at school. (Of those with 1-2 years, all except three were in either the Local Japanese of Local General ethnic groupings. Further discussion of the ratings grouped by ethnicity is in Section IV. B. 1.)

It is also possible that this trend does not reflect a causal relationship between negative stereotyping and the presence of foreign language study. This again relates to the ethnicity of the students who have had foreign language training at school. Only four of the 14 classified as Local Filipino had had any such training, while this figure for the Local Japanese was 10 out of 13, and for the Local General, 12 out of 17. Perhaps there is some interaction between ethnicity, the value that is placed on foreign language study, and tendencies to stereotype Ilokano speakers. That is, the tendency to stereotype speakers of another language may already be present before any foreign language training takes place.

So, while we should not completely disregard the above findings which associate foreign language study with a greater amount of stereotyping, we should guard against hasty conclusions without examining the interaction of other factors, such as ethnicity.

IV. B. 1. ETHNIC GROUPINGS

Comparing the mean scores for each of the three ethnic groupings, it was found that only those in the Local General group had scores which were significantly below 3.75, the overall mean for the target languages. (See Table 5.) For the qualities "trustworthy" and "helpful," this was significant at the .01 level, and for "considerate," "friendly," "honest," and "understanding" it was significant at the .05 level. This group's evaluation of the Ilokano guise on "responsible" did not differ significantly from 3.75.

The ratings by the Local Japanese did not differ significantly from 3.75 except on one quality, "responsible." The ratings of the Local Filipinos did not differ significantly from 3.75 on any of the seven qualities. So, while in the previous section it was noted that the Local Filipino grouping rated the Ilokano guise lower than did the other ethnic groups when compared with others who also had no foreign language experience at school, this does not seem to be the case overall.

Thus the hypothesis that "local" students would have a negative stereotype of Ilokano speakers can be further limited to include only those local students whose parents were born in Hawaii and in whose homes there is only English spoken. (Again, it should be emphasized that this definition of "local" does not capture the possibly important distinction between Standard English and Hawaii Creole English, popularly known as Pidgin. Since there are many

TABLE 5
RATINGS DIVIDED ACCORDING
TO ETHNIC GROUPINGS

	LOCAL FILIPINO N=14		LOCAL JAPANESE N=13		LOCAL GENERAL N=17	
	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE
			ILOKANO			
C	3.36	1.73	3.15	1.78	3.29*	2.23
F	3.14	2.08	3.15	1.89	3.12*	2.47
T	3.29	1.88	3.00	.55	3.12**	5.36
Ho	3.50	1.44	3.39	1.28	3.18*	2.66
He	3.21	1.19	3.31	1.43	2.63**	5.56
U	3.50	.99	3.39	1.39	3.19*	1.45
R	3.43	1.58	3.08*	2.80	3.53	2.28
			ENGLISH			
C	3.86	.53	4.08	1.25	4.35**	3.53
F	4.00	1.07	3.85	.45	3.94	.87
T	3.79	.15	3.92	.81	4.29*	2.62
Ho	4.00	.97	4.08	1.57	4.35**	13.03
He	3.93	.74	3.93	.64	4.29*	2.42
U	4.00	1.07	4.39*	2.36	4.06	1.05
R	3.93	.74	4.23*	2.39	4.24**	3.59
			FRENCH			
C	4.14*	2.20	4.15	1.80	3.94	.87
F	4.29*	2.45	3.92	.81	4.24*	2.69
T	3.71	.21	4.00	1.27	3.76	.06
Ho	4.07	1.44	4.00	1.10	3.82	.33
He	4.07	1.44	4.15	2.09	3.82	.36
U	4.21	1.53	4.15	1.35	3.56	.63
R	3.79	.17	4.00	1.27	3.82	.22

*=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .05 confidence level
**=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .01 confidence level

different varieties and degrees of Hawaii Creole English, an examination of them would go beyond the scope of this study.

IV. B. 2. HOME LANGUAGE EXPERIENCE

Those subjects who had been exposed to a foreign language at home for between 8 and 15 years had a significantly greater stereotype of Ilokano speakers than did the other two home language groupings (see Table 6). As with those who had a larger amount of school language experience, this stereotype was in a negative direction. For the qualities "friendly" and "trustworthy," this difference from 3.75 was significant at the .01 level, and for the remaining qualities, it was significant at the .05 level. The scores of those with no home language experience and between 1 and 7 years did not differ significantly from 3.75, except for one quality, "trustworthy," in the former group. However, it should be noted that the number of subjects in both of these groups was very small (0 years: N=7; 1-7 years: N=4), so that even for scores which may be lower than those in the 8-15 year group, it is less likely that they would be significant, even though the t-values representing their differences from 3.75 may be as large.

The possibility that the trend for those with more years of language experience to display a greater degree of stereotyping might be due to an interaction of other factors was again examined. For example, this trend with home language experience might not be significant if it turned out that those who had stereotypes were the same students who had studied foreign languages at school. There were only nine subjects who were in both the 8-15 years home

TABLE 6
RATINGS DIVIDED ACCORDING TO
YEARS OF HOME LANGUAGE
EXPERIENCE

	0 YEARS N=7		1-7 YEARS N=4		8-15 YEARS N=27	
	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE
			ILOKANO			
C	3.29	1.28	3.25	2.00	3.22*	2.62
F	3.00	1.54	3.00	1.84	3.15**	2.93
T	2.86**	6.23	3.75	0.00	3.11**	4.43
Ho	3.43	.87	3.25	1.04	3.37*	2.23
He	2.67	2.56	3.25	1.04	3.31*	2.22
U	3.17	1.88	3.50	.87	3.30*	2.19
R	3.42	1.58	3.75	0.00	3.30*	2.69
			ENGLISH			
C	4.57*	2.76	3.75	0.00	4.07	2.00
F	3.86	.32	3.75	0.00	3.96	2.00
T	4.43	1.84	3.50	.39	4.00	1.66
Ho	4.57**	4.06	3.75	0.00	4.19**	2.91
He	4.29	1.89	4.25	1.04	4.15*	2.29
U	4.67**	4.36	3.75	0.00	4.19*	2.06
R	4.43*	3.37	3.75	0.00	4.22**	3.25
			FRENCH			
C	4.00	.97	4.50	2.60	4.07	1.81
F	4.14	1.50	4.75*	4.00	4.00	1.56
T	3.71	.14	4.00	.97	3.85	.72
Ho	3.86	.42	4.25	1.04	3.81	.35
He	3.86	.32	3.75	0.00	4.07*	2.28
U	4.00	.97	3.75	0.00	3.89	.56
R	3.86	.32	3.75	0.00	3.74	.06

*=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .05 confidence level
**=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .01 confidence level

language group and were also in the 1-2 years school language group. The scores of the two groups were compared through t-tests, and there were no significant differences between them. While this does not prove that the nine subjects common to both groups were responsible for the similarity, it does allow for the possibility that they are partially responsible for the fact that in both groups, there was a negative stereotype.

The questionnaire also had the students write whether they spoke, only understood or only heard the home language. As shown in Table 7, those who only heard the home language had a significantly greater negative stereotype of Ilokano speakers than did those who spoke, understood, or had no experience with a home language. This is interesting when one considers the fact that in Hawaii, almost everyone hears some other language spoken "in the street" at some time or another. The psychological effect of hearing a language without understanding it might well be a subject of further study.

Those who understood a home language had almost no tendency to stereotype Ilokano speakers, except on one quality, "trustworthy." It seems, then, that understanding a home language is associated with a lack of stereotyping. However, we should again guard against generalizing about those who speak a home language or who have no experience at all with one, since the number of subjects in these two groups was very low, 5 and 7 respectively.

TABLE 7
RATINGS DIVIDED ACCORDING TO
KIND OF HOME LANGUAGE
EXPERIENCE

	SPEAK N=5		HEAR N=16		UNDERSTAND N=16		DON'T AT ALL N=7	
	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE
ILOKANO								
C	3.00	1.37	3.13*	2.80	3.50	1.03	3.29	1.28
F	2.60	2.26	3.00**	3.10	3.50	.97	3.00	1.54
T	3.20	1.47	3.19*	2.69	3.19**	3.41	2.86**	6.23
Ho	3.40	1.43	3.06*	2.77	3.56	1.04	3.43	.87
He	3.40	.88	2.81**	4.13	3.25	1.09	2.67*	2.56
U	3.40	.69	3.19*	2.28	3.56	.79	3.17	1.88
R	3.40	1.43	3.19*	2.46	3.50	1.36	3.43	1.58
ENGLISH								
C	3.60	.25	4.31**	3.72	3.88	.72	4.57*	2.76
F	3.80	.09	4.00	1.58	3.94	.82	3.86	.32
T	4.00	.56	3.94	.98	3.94	.82	4.43	1.84
Ho	4.20	.92	4.06	1.82	4.06	1.45	4.57**	4.06
He	4.00	.56	3.94	.72	4.13	1.71	4.29	1.89
U	4.00	.39	3.94	.68	4.19	1.93	4.67**	4.36
R	4.00	.56	3.94	.98	4.25*	2.93	4.43*	3.37
FRENCH								
C	4.20	1.20	3.81	.24	4.31**	3.18	4.00	1.24
F	4.40	1.63	4.00	1.37	4.25*	2.34	4.14	1.50
T	3.80	.13	3.69	.34	4.00	1.58	3.71	.14
Ho	3.80	.13	3.75	0.00	4.25*	2.93	3.86	.42
He	4.20	1.20	3.75	0.00	4.25*	2.93	3.86	.32
U	4.20	.92	3.50	.60	4.31	2.07	4.00	.97
R	4.20	1.20	3.50	.98	4.13	1.86	3.86	.32

*=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .05 confidence level
**=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .01 confidence level

IV. B. 3. SEX

The ratings made by the male subjects were closer to the 3.75 overall mean than were the ratings made by the females. (See Table 8.) Apparently, the females had a greater tendency to stereotype Ilokano speakers. However, there are two reasons for caution with this information: 1) Again, the number of subjects was unbalanced, with 10 males and 23 females; and 2) The females also had a greater number of years foreign language study, both at home and in school. Twelve of the 23 females had between 1 and 2 years school language experience, and 14 of them had been exposed to a language other than English in their homes for 8-15 years. As for the males, seven of the ten had had no school language experience (although five of them did have between 8 and 15 years at home). There were three males for whom the years of home language experience were not available.

Thus the result that females seem to have a greater negative stereotype of Ilokano speakers may have been confounded with the variables of school and home language experience.

TABLE 8
RATINGS DIVIDED
ACCORDING TO SEX OF
SUBJECTS

	MALE N=10		FEMALE N=23	
	MEAN	t-VALUE	MEAN	t-VALUE
		ILOKANO		
C	3.90	.54	3.13**	3.42
F	3.60	.49	2.96**	3.30
T	3.40	1.15	3.13**	5.43
Ho	3.60	.49	3.35*	2.31
He	3.22	1.22	3.09**	3.36
U	3.90	.64	3.27*	2.55
R	3.30	1.34	3.57	1.70
		ENGLISH		
C	4.40*	2.94	3.91	.85
F	4.20	1.80	3.74	.05
T	4.00	.97	3.91	.81
Ho	4.40**	3.98	3.96	1.14
He	3.70	.15	4.04	1.69
U	4.00	.84	4.14	1.85
R	4.00	.84	4.09*	2.22
		FRENCH		
C	4.20	2.25	4.00	1.99
F	4.30*	2.58	4.22**	3.06
T	4.00	.97	3.74	.08
Ho	4.40*	2.94	3.91	.91
He	4.10	1.11	4.09*	2.22
U	3.90	.40	4.09	1.64
R	4.10	1.11	4.00	1.62

*=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .05 confidence level
**=Differs significantly from 3.75 at .01 confidence level

IV. B. 4. EVALUATIONS OF THE ENGLISH AND FRENCH GUISES

In the subjects' ratings of the English and French guises, there was no clear-cut pattern of stereotyping by any one school language, home language, ethnic or sex grouping, although there were various qualities which did differ significantly from the 3.75 overall mean. The reader may refer to Tables 4 through 8; only those groups whose ratings were significant for four or more of the seven qualities will be discussed below.

When the ratings of the English guise are calculated according to ethnicity, we find that the Local General group had a significantly positive stereotype of English speakers on all but two of the seven qualities ("friendly" and "understanding"). Three of the seven ("considerate," "honest" and "responsible") were significant at the .01 level, while the remaining two ("trustworthy" and "helpful") were significant at the .05 level (see Table 5). If these last five ratings can be interpreted as positive stereotyping of the English guise as a whole by the Local General group, this is interesting when we consider that the taped segment was in standard English. That local students should have a positive stereotype of standard English when they themselves most likely speak or are familiar with Hawaii Creole English is somewhat surprising. HCE has been regarded as a low-prestige variety by many in Hawaii, and it could be that even local students have adopted this stereotype, even though they may speak it themselves.

When we look at the evaluations of the English and French guises by the "home years" groupings, we find a slight tendency toward a positive stereotyping of standard English speakers by both those with 0 years and those with 8-15 years home language experience. For each grouping, the mean scores were significantly different from 3.75 in a positive direction for four out of the seven qualities. Of these four, both groups had the significantly higher ratings on "honest," "understanding" and "responsible." These results suggest that the tendency to stereotype speakers of standard English is not related to the number of years one has been exposed to foreign languages at home.

The only other stereotyping pattern evident in the ratings of the French guise was by those who only understood another language spoken in the home. Their ratings on four of the seven qualities were significantly different from the 3.75 mean in a positive direction. The rating for only one quality, "considerate," was significant at the .01 level.

In general, the ratings of the English and French guises did not show the same consistency as did the ratings for the Ilokano guise. This suggest that factors such as years of home language experience, the type of home language experience, years of school language language study, ethnicity and sex are not associated with stereotyping of English and French speakers, at least not to the same degree as in stereotyping of Ilokano speakers.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to test the following three-part hypothesis: 1)Public school students in Hawaii hold stereotyped views of Ilokano speakers; 2)The stereotype of Ilokano speakers is a negative one; and 3)The more that students have studied foreign languages in school, the fewer stereotypes they will have of Ilokano speakers. This hypothesis was tested through the use of W.E. Lambert's matched guise technique. The results showed that:

a)the 44 ninth-grade students used as subjects do hold a stereotyped view of Ilokano speakers;

b)the stereotype seems to be a negative one;

c)those students with more school language experience tend to have a greater tendency to stereotype Ilokano speakers;

d)those students who were classified as Local General have a significantly greater negative stereotype than do those classified as Local Filipino and Local Japanese;

e)those subjects who have been exposed to one or more foreign languages in the home for 8-15 years have a significantly negative stereotype of Ilokano speakers. The same is true of those who had only heard a language other than English in the home. The ratings for those who spoke and/or understood another language in the home did not differ significantly from the 3.75 overall mean for the three target languages.

f)the female subjects seem to have a negative stereo-

type of Ilokano speakers, but because of the radically larger number of females, and because of the apparent interaction between sex and school and home language years, we should not attribute this tendency to sex alone;

g) further interaction is posited between ethnicity and years of foreign language study;

h) with regard to the ratings of the English and French guises, there were slight stereotypes of English speakers held by the Local General group, by the subjects with 0 years and between 8 and 15 years home language experience. There was also a slight stereotype of French speakers by those who only understood a language other than English in the home. However, these stereotypes were not as strong as those held of Ilokano speakers, because the significant differences were found in only 4 of the 7 qualities, whereas in the ratings of the Ilokano, six and seven of the qualities were significantly different, and thus represent a stronger stereotype.

The importance of these findings is that we have found a trend which is contrary to our expectations. That is, studies by Lambert have suggested that "ethnic intolerance may be overcome by training in foreign languages." (1962:36) Assuming that ethnic intolerance is reflected in stereotyping, particularly in the negative stereotyping of Ilokano speakers, we have found that neither foreign language training in school nor experience with a language other than English in the home is associated with a lack of stereo-

typing. It seems such language experience is associated with an increase in stereotyping. This might be an indication that the social climate in Hawaii is sufficiently different from that in the mainland United States and elsewhere that further research is needed in Hawaii; perhaps the conclusions of mainland studies cannot be applied here.

This study also suggests that Lambert's matched guise technique is an effective means of eliciting evaluative reactions toward other language and ethnic groups. The data discussed in section II. D. 2. regarding existing attitudes toward Filipino immigrants has been confirmed by the negative stereotyping found here.

It is hoped that the results of this study can be used as a springboard for further research in Hawaii. Such research would be a useful index for educators and for others who are concerned about locating areas of and solutions for cultural tensions as they exist in Hawaii.

VI. SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

The results of this study suggest that foreign language study is associated with students' stereotyping of Ilokano speakers. The matched guise technique has produced a certain consistency in its results which might well make it a useful technique for studying other aspects of ethnic, cultural and linguistic attitudes in Hawaii.

1) It would be very informative to reverse the purpose of the present study, and explore the attitudes of native Ilokano speakers toward local students, both Hawaii Creole English speakers and standard English speakers. It would provide a more complete picture of the current study if we knew whether Ilokano speakers have stereotypes of local students which are the same as or different from those of local students, or if they have stereotypes at all.

2) This technique might also provide interesting results in the study of HCE. A large number of Hawaii school children are native speakers of this language variety, yet much of their education and practically all of the media to which they are exposed in in SE. Thus many students are bedialectal in these two varieties. There are most certainly attitudinal correlates in their use of each variety which might be revealed through the use of the matched guise technique. How do local students feel about their own use of HCE? How do native speakers of SE regard speakers of HCE? What is the attitude of teachers toward speakers of HCE?

3) Hawaii is the place of residence for people from many

other countries besides the Philippines, including Japan, Samoa, Chine, Korea and Vietnam. How do local students regard people from these areas? How do these immigrants regard HCE-speaking and SE-speaking students?

4) In this study, there seems to be a tendency for male students to have fewer years of foreign language study than the female students. Is this a trend throughout Hawaii's schools? If so, what is the reason?

5) More research might be done to explore the effects of foreign language study. Foreign language study frequently involves not only study of the language itself, but study of the culture of the areas where that language is spoken. Can an in rease in the amount of cultural material have an effect on students' attitudes? Does a course in ethnic or cultural studies produce attitude change?

It is hoped that future research will focus on these questions which will give information on problems and situations which are unique to Hawaii, and thus require studies which are designed to take into account its particular situations and needs.

APPENDIX A

ENGLISH TEXT OF SPEECH SAMPLE

One hot, sunny Tuesday, a bus pulled up to one of its regular stops. Many people got off the bus at once. One could see from the faces of those getting off that they were relieved to be outside again. There they could feel what little breeze there was. Some of their faces were flushed from the heat, and many of them were fanning themselves with papers or magazines. Still, they walked quickly, their eyes looking straight ahead.

There was one man, however, who was very thin and much shorter than the rest of the people who rushed around and ahead of him. He was quite old, and his body was thin. He watched the people who passed him with an amused look on his face. There was a bench on the edge of the sidewalk, and as he got closer to the bench, he looked carefully at a man and woman who were already sitting there. He stopped walking, and smiled at them. The man who was sitting looked at him, and then quickly looked away. The woman did not look at him at all, but stared steadily at the traffic in the street behind him. The older man continued looking at them. When it became obvious that the man and woman on the bench would not return his smile, he shrugged his shoulders, turned, and walked on down the street. But he did not stop smiling.

APPENDIX B

STUDENTS' EVALUATION OF FRIENDSHIP QUALITIES

QUALITY	VOTES	QUALITY	VOTES
considerate	28	helpful	18
warm	3	not conceited	10
good listener	3	democratic	0
honest	38	thoughtful	7
loyal	14	cheerful	13
open	4	intelligent	4
trustworthy	32	respectful	14
friendly	29	kind	8
understanding	23	responsible	24
patient	13	generous	4
unselfish	16	polite	7
energetic	4	self-confident	1
open-minded	7	fair	9

APPENDIX C

RATING SHEET

NUMBER _____

Please rate the speaker you just heard.

inconsiderate	1	2	3	4	5	considerate
unfriendly	1	2	3	4	5	friendly
untrustworthy	1	2	3	4	5	trustworthy
dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	honest
not helpful	1	2	3	4	5	helpful
not understanding	1	2	3	4	5	understanding
irresponsible	1	2	3	4	5	responsible

Please try to guess what language this person is speaking:

_____

APPENDIX D

BACKGROUND INFORMATION SHEET

1. Is English your native language? (In other words, is English the first language you learned to speak?) Answer yes or no.

   _____

2. Have you lived in Hawaii all your life? Answer yes or no.

   _____

3. If you have NOT lived in Hawaii all your life, where did you live before coming to Hawaii? (Write the state or country)

   _____

4. Please write the name of the state or country where you were born.

   _____

5. Please write the name of the state or country where your parents were born:

   Mother born in _____

   Father born in _____

6. Are there any languages you have studied at school?

LANGUAGE	HOW MANY YEARS STUDIED?	WHEN DID YOU START TAKING IT?	ARE YOU STILL TAKING IT?
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

7. List each language you have been exposed to in your home. Write down whether you: o speak it, o understand it but don't speak it, or o hear it but don't understand it. Also write down the length of time for each.

LANGUAGE	SPEAK / UNDERSTAND BUT DON'T SPEAK / or HEAR BUT DON'T UNDERSTAND	LENGTH OF TIME
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

FOOTNOTES

[1]French was viewed as a high-prestige language because French culture is popularly associated with high fashion, elaborate food and other features which are typical of Americans' image of wealthy people. In certain areas of the mainland United States, though, this is not so, particularly in areas where the French-speaking population is in a lower socio-economic group. In Hawaii, however, there is not a significant number of either immigrants from France or people of French descent. Thus it was expected that Hawaii students' evaluation of the French segment would reflect the popular positive stereotype.

[2]The term "evaluational" reactions, as opposed to "evaluative," is used by Wallace Lambert in many of his studies. See, for example, Lambert and Anisfeld, 1965.

[3]Data on the history of immigration to Hawaii can be found in David and King, 1972; State of Hawaii, 1975; Cahill, 1975; and Horman and Lawrence, 1959.

[4]East-West Center Cultural Learning Institute, 1975; Cunningham field notes, quoted in David and King, 1972; Honolulu Star Bulletin, October 3, 1974; September 13, 1974; October 5, 1974; Honolulu Star Bulletin and Advertiser, October 20, 1974; October 13, 1974.

[5]The original experiment design called for eight language samples. However, a pilot test with a group of high school students showed that this was not practicable. It appeared to be difficult for the students to concentrate on the rating task when they were hearing at lease five languages which were completely foreign to them. It was decided, therefore, to eliminate two of the taped segments (Arabic and Ponapean) in order to maintain an air of seriousness in the classroom.

[6]Formula: $$t = \frac{\overline{X}_1 - \overline{X}_2}{\sqrt{\frac{\left(\Sigma x_1^2 - \frac{(\Sigma x)^2}{n}\right) + \left(\Sigma x_2^2 - \frac{(\Sigma x)^2}{n}\right)}{n(n-1)}}}$$

[7]Formula: $$t = \frac{\overline{X}_1 - \overline{X}_2}{\sqrt{s^2\left(\frac{n_1+n_2}{n_1 \times n_2}\right)}} \quad \text{where } s^2 = \frac{\left(\Sigma x_1^2 - \frac{(\Sigma x_1)^2}{n}\right) + \left(\Sigma x_2^2 - \frac{(\Sigma x_2)^2}{n}\right)}{n_1 + n_2 - 2}$$

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